

Message Text

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EXDIS FOR TODMAN FROM LUERS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OAS, BR, GJ, TD

SUBJECT: SCOPE PAPER FOR SECRETARY'S TRIP

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF SCOPE PAPER WE ARE GIVING SECRETARY
TONIGHT, JUNE 7, FOR HIS TRIP TO CARIBBEAN. WOULD LIKE
YOUR VIEWS BEFORE MY LUNCH WITH SECRETARY THURSDAY. WE
HAVE NOT SENT YOU BY CABLE THE SEPARATE STRATEGY PAPER FOR
THE OASGA ITSELF.

BEGIN TEXT. SCOPE PAPER: YOUR TRIP TO THE CARIBBEAN.

1. MAJOR OBJECTIVES -- YOUR TRIP TO THE CARIBBEAN HAS THREE
MAJOR OBJECTIVES: FIRST, TO DEMONSTRATE OUR SUPPORT FOR
THE OAS AS A MAJOR FORUM FOR DIALOGUE AND MULTILATERAL
COOPERATION. (SPECIFIC OASGA AGENDA ITEMS ARE DEALT WITH
SEPARATELY IN AN OASGA STRATEGY PAPER.)

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SECOND, TO MEET INDIVIDUALLY WITH KEY LATIN AMERICAN FOREIGN
MINISTERS ON MAJOR BILATERAL AS WELL AS REGIONAL AND GLOBAL
ISSUES. YOUR STOP IN TRINIDAD WILL SERVE SIMILAR ENDS
AND WILL HELP SYMBOLIZE OUR INTEREST IN THE CARIBBEAN AND
IN DEMOCRACIES.

FINALLY, TO PROVIDE A CAPSTONE TO OUR INITIAL EFFORTS TO
INTRODUCE THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION TO THE HEMISPHERE.

TO THESE ENDS, YOUR MAJOR THEMES WILL BE:

-- THIS ADMINISTRATION IS DIFFERENT. OUR EMPHASIS ON HUMAN RIGHTS, NON-PROLIFERATION, AND RESTRICTED ARMS TRANSFER COMES PRECISELY BECAUSE WE ARE AGAINST "INTERVENTIONISM". WE ARE NOT OUT TO DUMP GOVERNMENTS OR DOMINATE THEM. INSTEAD, WE ARE WORKING TO SET NEW INTERNATIONAL DIRECTIONS BY EXAMPLE. THIS THEME IS IMPORTANT BECAUSE THE LATINS WHO OPPOSE OUR HUMAN RIGHTS POLICIES ARE ACCUSING US OF "INTERVENTION IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF STATES". THE ARGUMENT HAS HISTORICAL FORCE UNLESS SHOWN FALSE.

-- NEW DIRECTIONS CAN BE ATTAINED ONLY THROUGH COOPERATION. ECONOMICALLY, FOR EXAMPLE, WE CAN DO NO MORE THAN WORLD REALITIES PERMIT.

-- YOU VALUE DIRECT CONTACT AND THE OPINIONS OF YOUR COLLEAGUES. WE AGREE TO DISAGREE IF NECESSARY, BUT WE WILL TALK AS INDIVIDUALS TO EVERYONE, FROM THE VENEZUELAN TO THE CHILEANS.

2. THE SETTING. OUR NEW POLICIES TOWARD LATIN AMERICA HAVE GENERATED BOTH SUPPORT AND, IN SOME QUARTERS, A NATURAL UNDERCURRENT OF RESISTANCE. IN ADDITION TO OLD NORTH-SOUTH TENSIONS LIKE THOSE YOU SAW AT CIEC IN PARIS, OUR HUMAN RIGHTS INITIATIVES HAVE BECOME A NEW SOURCE
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OF CONTROVERSY. OUR STRATEGY MUST BE TO INDUCE OTHERS TO COOPERATE, RATHER THAN OBSTRUCT, ON BOTH NEW AND OLD GLOBAL ISSUES LIKE HUMAN RIGHTS, NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL ARMS RESTRAINT, AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS. WE HAVE A SIMILAR MESSAGE ALSO ON EXPLICITLY REGIONAL ISSUES, SUCH AS CUBA AND PANAMA.

THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION ALREADY RATES HIGH ON ONE OF THE KEY BAROMETERS OF INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS: TOP-LEVEL PERSONAL ATTENTION. BOTH PRESIDENT AND MRS. CARTER HAVE BEEN ACTIVELY INVOLVED; SECRETARY BLUMENTHAL ATTENDED THE INTER-AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK MEETING; AMBASSADOR YOUNG BROKE NEW GROUND BY SPEAKING IN GUATEMALA TO THE UN ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR LATIN AMERICA; YOUR OWN ROLE HAS BEEN CENTRAL IN OUR MOST COMPLEX BILATERAL RELATIONS -- BRAZIL AND MEXICO.

THE MOST RECENT STEPS HAVE BEEN MRS. CARTER'S TRIP TO LATIN AMERICA AND THE PRESIDENT'S SIGNATURE OF PROTOCOL I OF THE TREATY OF TLAZELOLCO AND THE AMERICAN CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS. WE HAVE THUS BEGUN TO IMPLEMENT THE NEW APPROACH THE PRESIDENT OUTLINED BEFORE THE OAS PERMANENT COUNCIL ON APRIL 14. YOUR MEETINGS IN GRENADA AND TRINIDAD CAP THIS INITIAL ROUND OF HIGH-LEVEL INVOLVEMENT. THE LATINS APPRECIATE THIS ATTENTION, RECOGNIZE ITS POTEN-

TIAL SIGNIFICANCE FOR FUTURE RELATIONS, AND HOPE THAT MANY OF THE POLICIES OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION CAN BE OF BENEFIT TO THEM. THERE ARE MISGIVINGS, HOWEVER, AND SERIOUS QUESTIONS CONCERNING OUR TRUE MOTIVES AND PROPOSED METHODS OF DEALING WITH THEM. WITH SOME HEMISPHERIC GOVERNMENTS, OUR RELATIONS ARE SHAKY. THEY WILL PROBABLY REMAIN SO FOR A WHILE, AS THEY WILL CONTINUE TO REFLECT MANY CONTRADICTORY ELEMENTS.

ON THE POSITIVE SIDE:

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-- DESPITE SOME MAJOR PROBLEMS, OUR STAND ON HUMAN RIGHTS HAS GIVEN US A NEW EMOTIONAL APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE OF THE HEMISPHERE.

-- THERE IS NO CURRENT SECURITY THREAT TO US FROM LATIN AMERICA; TENSIONS WITHIN THE REGION ARE GENERALLY CIRCUMSCRIBED, AND THE THREAT OF EXTERNAL ATTACK IS NIL.

-- SEVERAL OF THE MOST DYNAMIC LATIN COUNTRIES ARE GROWING SO FAST THAT THEY ARE BEGINNING TO THINK OF THEMSELVES AS FUTURE "HAVES" AS WELL AS CURRENT "HAVE-NOTS". LATIN AMERICA IS NOW MORE IMPORTANT TO US ECONOMICALLY THAN ANY OTHER REGION EXCEPT CANADA AND WESTERN EUROPE.

-- MOST LATIN AMERICAN LEADERS HAVE COME TO REALIZE THAT OUR ECONOMIC RECOVERY AND OUR RESPONSIVENESS ON NORTH-SOUTH ISSUES IS THE KEY TO THEIR GOALS. DESPITE THIRD WORLD RHETORIC AND COMMUNIST-BLOC BLANDISHMENTS, THE US IS STILL THE PACESETTER AND WILL BE FOR DECADES. THE LATINS KNOW THIS BETTER THAN ANYONE.

-- IN GENERAL, OUR DIALOGUE WITH THE HEMISPHERE IS CIVILIZED AND USUALLY CONSTRUCTIVE. WHEN WE TAKE THE TROUBLE TO ORGANIZE IT, WE STILL GET SUBSTANTIAL SUPPORT IN THE UN AND OTHER WORLD BODIES FROM LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN.

ON THE NEGATIVE SIDE:

-- THE ERA OF "AUTOMATIC ALLIANCE" WITH US IS GONE. OVER THE PAST DECADE, MOST LATIN AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS HAVE COME TO ASSUME THAT OUR OFFERS OF CONSULTATION AND COOPERATION ARE EITHER RHETORICAL OR NOT IN THEIR INTEREST. IN WORLD FORA, WHILE THEY STILL SUPPORT US ON MOST EAST-WEST ISSUES, THE LATINS ACCEPT A THIRD-WORLD VIEW OF NORTH-SOUTH ISSUES, BECAUSE THEY HAVE THE MOST TO GAIN FROM PROGRESS ON MOST OF THEM.

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-- THE RISE OF AUTHORITARIAN AND FREQUENTLY REPRESSIVE MILITARY GOVERNMENTS, PARTICULARLY IN THE SOUTHERN CONE, CREATES A POTENTIAL HEMISPHERIC SPLIT ON IDEOLOGICAL AND GEOPOLITICAL GROUNDS. THIS TENSION IS ACCENTUATED BY OUR STRESS ON HUMAN RIGHTS.

-- THERE IS CONSIDERABLE DISENCHANTMENT OVER OUR ECONOMIC COOPERATION. THIS IS FUELED BY FEAR THAT LATIN AMERICA'S PREDOMINANTLY "MIDDLE INCOME" COUNTRIES WILL BE FORGOTTEN IN OUR EMPHASIS ON "DEVELOPMENT FOR THE NEEDIEST".

THESE TENSIONS WILL BE IN THE BACKGROUND OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY DEBATE. BUT SINCE IT WAS FOUNDED IN 1948, THE OAS HAS BEEN A USEFUL ESCAPE VALVE FOR REGIONAL PRESSURES. MOREOVER, THE INFORMAL DIALOGUE SESSIONS WE PIONEERED IN 1975 ARE A REMARKABLE OPPORTUNITY FOR PERSONAL CONTACT AND OFF-THE-RECORD DISCUSSIONS TO OFFSET SPECULATION AND FEARS.

HUMAN RIGHTS: THE NEURALGIC ISSUE

THE CURRENT LIST OF CHALLENGES STARTS WITH HUMAN RIGHTS. WE HAVE TO AVOID THE SMUG DICTUM THAT "PEOPLE LOVE US AND GOVERNMENTS HATE US". THE TRUTH IS FAR MORE COMPLEX-- ALMOST AS COMPLEX AS THE NUMBER OF COUNTRIES INVOLVED.

THE MOST INTENSE REACTIONS HAVE COME FROM THE COUNTRIES OF THE SOUTHERN CONE: CHILE, ARGENTINA AND URUGUAY IN PARTICULAR, AND TO SOME EXTENT BRAZIL, PARAGUAY, AND BOLIVIA AS WELL. THOUGH THEY EACH FACE RATHER DIFFERENT DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL SITUATIONS AND HAVE SO FAR NOT MADE COMMON CAUSE AGAINST US, THESE COUNTRIES EACH CONSIDER OUR HUMAN RIGHTS DRIVE AN INEXPLICABLE AND UNWANTED BETRAYAL. ALTHOUGH THE EMPHASSES VARY FROM COUNTRY TO COUNTRY, THE REACTIONS REVEAL SOME COMMON FEARS:

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-- THAT WE ARE INTERVENING ONCE AGAIN IN THEIR INTERNAL AFFAIRS, ENCOURAGING POLITICAL PARTIES THEY CONSIDER HOPELESSLY CORRUPT, AND PERHAPS EVEN MOVING TO OVERTHROW OR REPLACE CURRENT GOVERNMENTS;

-- THAT WE ARE PLAYING INTO THE HANDS OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM BY IMPLICITLY ENCOURAGING TERRORISM IN TOTAL DISREGARD OF EFFORTS TO MAINTAIN DOMESTIC ORDER.

BUT OTHER LATIN AMERICANS ARE CONCERNED BY OUR HUMAN RIGHTS INITIATIVES AS WELL:

-- OUR CREDIBILITY ON HUMAN RIGHTS SUFFERS BECAUSE, SO FAR, OUR ZEAL HAS BEEN EXPRESSED IN WAYS THAT

RESULT IN SAVINGS TO THE US TREASURY. JAMAICAN PREMIER MICHAEL MANLEY TOLD MRS. CARTER THAT OUR EMPHASIS ON "POLITICAL" RIGHTS HAD AROUSED SOME CYNICISM IN THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, WHERE PEOPLE ARE EVEN MORE INTERESTED IN FOOD, SHELTER AND CLOTHING. WE HAVE NOT SHOWN THE POLITICAL MUSCLE TO BACK WITH MONEY EVEN SUCH COUNTRIES AS JAMAICA, WHICH HAVE EXCELLENT HUMAN RIGHTS RECORDS BUT SERIOUS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE HARKIN AMENDMENT WILL BE APPLIED SELECTIVELY TO LATIN AMERICA IN THE WORLD BANK AS WELL AS THE INTER-AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK HEIGHTENS FEARS THAT WE MEAN TO SHRINK RESOURCE COMMITMENTS EVEN FURTHER.

--SOME ALSO CHARGE THAT WE "DISCRIMINATE" AGAINST LATIN AMERICA. THEY CITE, FOR EXAMPLE, YOUR ANNOUNCEMENT LAST FEBRUARY OF CUTS IN FMS CREDITS FOR ARGENTINA AND URUGUAY, BUT NOT FOR SOUTH KOREA. FROM OUR

STANDPOINT, OUR SECURITY INTERESTS ARE EVIDENTLY GREATER IN SOUTH KOREA. TO MANY LATINS, THIS

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JUDGMENT NOT ONLY CONTRADICTS OUR MUTUAL SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS WITH THEM IN THE RIO TREATY BUT SUGGESTS THAT WE CARE LITTLE ABOUT LATIN AMERICAN SECURITY. THIS CONCERN IS SHARED TO SOME EXTENT BY DEMOCRATIC NATIONS LIKE VENEZUELA AS WELL AS ONES LIKE ARGENTINA, WHICH FACES AN ACTIVE INSURGENCY, AND URUGUAY, WHICH IS STILL RECOVERING FROM ONE.

THESE ARE ALL ARGUMENTS YOU WILL HEAR IN YOUR PRIVATE MEETINGS, IF NOT AT THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ITSELF. WE DO NOT MEAN TO SUGGEST THAT YOU WILL FACE OPEN HOSTILITY. THE DEGREE OF CIVILITY IN US/LATIN AMERICAN RELATIONS IS REMARKABLE, CONSIDERING OUR DISPARITIES IN POWER AND WEALTH, AND THE SIZE OF OUR PROBLEMS. IT MAY EVEN BE THAT OUR DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS HAS A POPULAR APPEAL THAT OVERRIDES SOME PROBLEMS.

TO GAIN SOME MEASURE OF GENERALIZED SUPPORT, HOWEVER, WE WILL NEED TO COOPERATE CLOSELY WITH OTHER DEMOCRACIES (VENEZUELA, COSTA RICA, COLOMBIA AND THE ENGLISH SPEAKING CARIBBEAN) AND WITH COUNTRIES THAT DO NOT CONSIDER THEMSELVES IMMEDIATE TARGETS OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN (MEXICO, PERU, ECUADOR) TO REASSURE THEM THAT WE ARE SENSITIVE TO THEIR CONCERNS AS WELL AS OUR OWN.

WE WILL ALSO NEED TO DIFFERENTIATE AMONG THOSE COUNTRIES WHERE MAJOR PROBLEMS EXIST. BRAZIL, WHERE THE GOVERNMENT HAS ATTEMPTED TO BRING TORTURE UNDER CONTROL,

IS CLEARLY IN A DIFFERENT CATEGORY FROM ARGENTINA,
WHICH SANCTIONS OFFICIAL COUNTER-TERRORISM AGAINST
WHAT HAS BEEN A SERIOUS TERRORIST THREAT. AND BOTH
ARE DIFFERENT FROM CHILE AND URUGUAY, WHICH ARE
IMPLANTING POLICE STATES ON THE COLD ASHES OF PAST
DIFFICULTIES, OR PARAGUAY, BOLIVIA, OR NICARAGUA,
WHERE HUMAN RIGHTS HAVE ALWAYS BEEN SUBORDINATE TO
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THE NEEDS OF INDIVIDUAL RULERS.

THE PATTERN WE HOPE TO FOLLOW WILL THUS CONSIST OF:

-- A STRONG GENERAL STATEMENT;

--A MEASURE OF INCREASED SUPPORT FOR THE INTER-
AMERICAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION; AND

-- SOME BLUNT BILATERALS.

OTHER HOT ISSUES

TRADE, THOUGH LESS EXPLOSIVE THAN HUMAN RIGHTS, IS AN EVEN MORE PervasivE ISSUE IN US-LATIN AMERICAN RELATIONS. OUR APPROACH HAS BEEN TO BREAK TRADE MATTERS DOWN INTO SEVERAL SEPARATE ISSUES, MOSTLY FOR CONSIDERATION ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS IN GLOBAL FORUMS. BUT, AS YOU SAW IN PARIS, ECONOMIC ISSUES HAVE BECOME HIGHLY POLITICIZED IN LATIN AMERICA, WHERE THE TERMS OF TRADE ARE CONSIDERED--IF NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR THEIR POVERTY AND OUR WEALTH--AT LEAST TO HOLD THE KEY TO THEIR ABILITY TO EARN THEIR WAY TO DEVELOPMENT.

THE LATINS MAY BE SOMEWHAT LESS CONFRONTATIONAL AT THE OAS THAN IN GLOBAL FORUMS, WHERE THEY MUST SEEK TO MAINTAIN THIRD-WORLD SOLIDARITY. BUT SOME WILL CERTAINLY TALK ABOUT OUR LACK OF "POLITICAL WILL" ON ECONOMIC ISSUES, THE "INADEQUACY" OF THE FINAL PACKAGE WE OFFERED AT CIEC, AND OUR "UNWILLINGNESS" TO BE MORE FORTHCOMING WITH RESPECT TO STABILIZATION OF EXPORT EARNINGS AND OTHER G-19 DEMANDS. THEY WILL RECEIVE AT LEAST IMPLICIT SOLIDARITY FROM THEIR COLLEAGUES, WHO EITHER SUSPECT THAT WE HAVE NO ECONOMIC PROGRAM, OR WANT TO REGISTER THEIR DISPLEASURE AT OUR HUMAN RIGHTS POLICIES.

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WE DO NOT NEED TO BE APOLOGETIC. THE PACKAGE PUT FORTH AT CIEC CONTAINED ELEMENTS OF SUBSTANTIAL BENEFIT TO LDC'S AND A FRAMEWORK FOR FUTURE BENEFITS AS WELL.

MANY G-77 BLOC POSITIONS THAT THE LATIN AND CARIBBEAN MEMBERS OF THE G-19 SUPPORTED WERE RIGIDLY UNREALISTIC. WE VALUE LATIN AMERICA'S DIFFICULT BUT LOGICAL ROLE AS AN INTERMEDIARY. LATIN AMERICA IS THE MOST DEVELOPED REGION OF THE DEVELOPING WORLD. WE HOPE THAT ITS POSITIONS ON NORTH-SOUTH MATTERS WILL FAVOR CONTINUED DIALOGUE RATHER THAN RENEWED RECRIMINATIONS. INDEED, WE SHOULD USE THE OASGA TO BEGIN TO DEVELOP UNDERSTANDING AND SUPPORT FOR MUTUALLY ADVANTAGEOUS ECONOMIC INITIATIVES.

SOME SHARP POLITICAL ISSUES ARE ALSO OF GENERAL INTEREST.

-- CUBA: OUR RAPPROCHEMENT WITH CUBA, COMING ON TOP OF DETENTE, RAISES REAL INSECURITIES IN LATIN AMERICA. WE SHOULD NOT DISMISS SUCH FEARS AS IRRATIONAL. SEVERAL LATIN COUNTRIES ARE FIGHTING, OR HAVE RECENTLY FOUGHT, GENUINELY DANGEROUS INSURGENCIES OF THE LEFT. IF WE HAD FACED A COMPARABLE PROBLEM, WE WOULD BE LOOKING UNDER OUR BEDS TOO. YOU SHOULD INDICATE THAT WE ARE

NEGOTIATING WITH CUBA WITH OUR EYES OPEN, THAT WE ARE DOING SO PRECISELY TO BE ABLE TO INFLUENCE CUBA ONCE AGAIN, AND THAT WE WOULD WELCOME REPORTS OR EVIDENCE FROM OTHERS ON THE NATURE OF CUBAN ACTIVITIES IN THE HEMISPHERE.

-- PANAMA: MOST ACCEPT THAT WE ARE NEGOTIATING IN GOODWILL, BUT IT WILL BE IMPORTANT FOR PANAMA TO PROVE IT BY CO-SPONSORING IN THE OASGA A RESOLUTION THAT CONFIRMS GENERAL SUPPORT FOR THE TREATY NOW EMERGING FROM OUR BILATERAL TALKS.

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YOUR BILATERAL MEETINGS

EVEN MORE THAN THE INFORMAL OAS DIALOGUE SESSIONS, YOUR BILATERAL MEETINGS ARE LIKELY TO BE DOMINATED BY QUESTIONS OF GLOBAL ECONOMIC POLICY AND HUMAN RIGHTS. THE CONTEXT, HOWEVER, WILL BRING OUT THE SPECIFIC CONCERNs AND FREQUENTLY DIVERGENT INTERESTS OF YOUR INTERLOCUTORS. THE EMPHASIS WILL BE HIGHLY BILATERAL, NOT REGIONAL. SEPARATE BRIEFING PAPERS HAVE BEEN PREPARED FOR EACH OF YOUR INDIVIDUAL MEETINGS.

IF THERE IS A COMMON THEME FOR YOUR MEETINGS, IT IS, AS THE PRESIDENT SAID IN APRIL, THAT WE INTEND TO ADAPT OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIPS AS FULLY AS POSSIBLE TO THE INDIVIDUALITY OF EACH COUNTRY. WE SEE OUR NEW EMPHASIS ON GLOBALISM AS A MEANS OF WIDENING OUR COOPERATION, NOT NARROWING IT. YOU SHOULD STRESS OUR INTEREST IN WORKING TOGETHER, AS FOR EXAMPLE

THROUGH YOUR WILLINGNESS TO EXCHANGE CORRESPONDENCE ON MAJOR MATTERS. OTHER THEMES COULD INCLUDE OUR INTEREST IN FINDING WAYS TO COOPERATE ON REGIONAL AND SUB-REGIONAL INTEGRATION AND OUR WILLINGNESS TO EXAMINE LATIN AMERICAN INITIATIVES ON CULTURAL EXCHANGE AND SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY.

YOUR STOP IN TRINIDAD

YOUR OVERNIGHT STOP IN TRINIDAD IS INTENDED TO SHOW OUR INTEREST IN THE EX-BRITISH, BLACK CARIBBEAN AS A WHOLE, BUT ALSO TO GIVE SOME PERSONAL ATTENTION TO TRINIDAD AS ONE OF THE TWO LEADING COUNTRIES OF THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING CARIBBEAN. MRS. CARTER HAS VISITED JAMAICA, THE OTHER LEADER. BOTH COUNTRIES ARE DEMOCRACIES THAT PRODUCE A MAJOR RESOURCE, BUT JAMAICA'S BAUXITE HAS NOT BEEN AS PROFITABLE AS TRINIDAD'S

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OIL. JAMAICA'S POLITICS HAVE THUS HAD AN ELEMENT OF RADICAL EXPERIMENTATION FED BY ECONOMIC FRUSTRATION.

TRINIDAD, ON THE CONTRARY, HAS ATTRACTED CLOSE TO A BILLION DOLLARS IN INVESTMENTS FROM THE US ALONE. PRIME MINISTER WILLIAMS HAS BEEN IN POWER MUCH LONGER THAN MANLEY; HIS IMAGE IS ONE OF STABILITY IN AN UNSTABLE REGION; HE IS AN INTELLECTUAL AND THE CARIBBEAN'S SENIOR STATESMAN.

YOUR DISCUSSIONS WITH WILLIAMS THUS PROVIDE A MAJOR OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS THE ENTIRE RANGE OF PROBLEMS FACED BY THE CARIBBEAN BASIN AND THE NATURE OF OUR RELATIONS TO THEM. HE WILL BE A CRITICAL ACTOR IN ANY EFFORT WE MOUNT TO DEVELOP A SPECIAL MULTILATERAL APPROACH TO THE SERIOUS ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS IN THE CARIBBEAN. VANCE

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